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UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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[PRICE 4d.]

BRITISH GUIANA—STATE OF THE COLONY.

BRITISH Guiana is on fire! A coffee plantation on Canal No. 1, in the neighbourhood of Demerara, having ignited, the fire has extended widely under favour of the dry season, and still further devastation is expected. The flames were raging when the packet left, and no prospect existed of a stop being put to their progress, except the very unlikely one at the moment of a copious rain. The *Royal Gazette* makes no scruple to impute this conflagration to an act of incendiarism on the part of the labourers, in resentment of the conduct of Mr. Falant, a commissary of taxes, in enforcing the provisions of the hawkers' and pedlars' act, and eagerly ascribes this resentment to a letter and an address of the Rev. W. Rattray, an agent of the London Missionary Society. Reckless accusations of this sort are quite in keeping with the character of our contemporary, but the world will not believe them on such testimony alone. We are entitled to ask, what can be proved in this matter? One thing is clear enough; that, while the law (which prohibits a person from selling even a plantain raised in his own garden without an expensive licence) is in itself vexatious enough to kindle resentment anywhere, Mr. Falant's mode of putting it in execution was the most vexatious of all possible ways of effecting so disagreeable a purpose. The people in his district being avowedly ignorant of the law, his first measure was, not to give them information, but to seize their goods! A step perfectly legal, no doubt; but as directly calculated to madden the population, and to set the colony on fire, as if it had been devised for the purpose. We earnestly hope, however, that it may please God, by a copious rain, to extinguish a conflagration so ruinous, in whatever cause it may have originated.

In another sense also British Guiana is on fire. The furious element which is spreading devastation in the county of Demerara is a very fair emblem of the excitement which is agitating the sister county of Berbice, in relation to the Immigration Loan and Civil List ordinances. We stated in our last that a public meeting convened in the British School-room, New Amsterdam, for the consideration of these ordinances, had been disturbed "by a mob of merchants, planters, attorneys, doctors, and government officials," at whose clamorous dictation it was adjourned for a fortnight, and a Committee was appointed to prepare resolutions on the obnoxious ordinances. It seemed good to this Committee to request the sheriff of the county to preside; and he, having asked and obtained the consent of the Governor, consented to do so. Mr. Sheriff Whinfield (for this is his name) forthwith convened, not an adjourned public meeting, nor a public meeting at all, but a county meeting, or a meeting of the inhabitants of the county of Berbice; thus giving to the second meeting a technical and restricted character which had not belonged to the first, and preparing the way for a practical restriction which subsequently created great dissatisfaction. In the mean time, it being the pleasure of the Committee, by majority, to adopt resolutions in favour of the obnoxious ordinances, it was agreed that the party opposed to them should have full opportunity of being heard at the county meeting, each side being allowed to put forth its own speakers *ad libitum*. With a view to strengthen their hands for this conflict, the Rev. Messrs. Waddington, Roome, and Davies, upon whom the stress of the business lay, requested the presence and aid of the Rev. J. Ketley and another gentleman, from Demerara; and Mr. Davies being laid aside by fever, the main argument was confided to Mr. Ketley. Then came the meeting, and with it soon the 'tug of war.' Mr. Sheriff Whinfield, with the laudable view, of course, of promoting the harmony of the meeting, thought it good to designate and to denounce certain parties—unnamed, but well understood to be the missionaries who had taken an active part in this business—as having gone about to deceive the people, by representing it as the design of the Government to reduce them again to slavery. This naturally excited much indignation, not only on the part of the falsely charged missionaries themselves, but on the part also of their friends then assembled, and constituting by far the larger portion of the meeting; and it was certainly as gross an indiscretion as the chairman of a public meeting could well have committed. Matters, however, went on. Motion the first was made and seconded; and an amendment to it was about to be proposed by the Rev. Mr. Ketley, when the chairman objected to this "foreign aid," and, without asking the meeting whether they would hear him or not, declared authoritatively, "He shall not speak here." His honour—if that be his title, for we would not wish to lay ourselves open to so grave a charge as that of treating the sheriff of the county of Berbice with contempt—and the planter party chuckled vastly at thus getting rid of a speaker from whom, it seems, both sides expected much; but all the world must see that this betokened any thing rather than a sense of the justice of their cause, or a desire to arrive at the truth. The occasion was really one on which it would

have been peculiarly becoming that technical objections, if they existed, should have been thrown aside, and every person who wished to express his sentiments should have received attention. Prevented from addressing the meeting, Mr. Ketley, of course, retired, but his friends remained dissatisfied; and, conceiving that the stipulated conditions of the day had been broken, one of them (Mr. Waddington) moved that, on this ground, the assembly should be dissolved. Amidst the confusion which now arose, it seemed better to some parties that the non-contents should withdraw, and hold another meeting at Mission chapel; to which place, in agreement with this suggestion, the great majority—one account says nine-tenths, and another nineteen-twentieths—of the persons present adjourned. The *Berbice Gazette* says the chairman and his party laughed at this proceeding; but we will venture to say that this laughter was a disguise, and a very thin one, for their profound mortification. There were now two meetings going on—a little one, consisting of Mr. Sheriff Whinfield and other notables, to the number of from one to two hundred, passing unanimously the cut and dried resolutions in favour of the obnoxious ordinances; and a large one, led by the missionaries, and numbering nearly two thousand persons of all classes, but principally labourers, (justly called by our correspondent a "monster meeting,") passing with equal unanimity resolutions condemnatory of them. And with the quiet dispersion of these two meetings the present chapter of this eventful history terminates.

We must now glance at the doings of these assemblies respectively. The resolutions proposed by the Committee, and adopted at the meeting of notables, were the following:—

1. That a large immigration of labourers into the free colonies of the West Indies belonging to the British Crown would be conducive to the higher and holier interests of the human race, and is therefore a thing to be desired by every friend of humanity.

2. That the continuance to them for some time of the protection hitherto accorded to the exportable products of the British West India colonies would conduce to the higher and general interests of humanity, and is therefore to be desired and sought by every philanthropist.

3. That an extensive immigration of labourers into the British West Indian colonies, to be effected at the common expense of the respective colonies, would tend to promote the best interests of all classes in said colonies, and is therefore an object to be desired and sought by all constitutional means.

To these was added a fourth, which, besides being too long for insertion, contains nothing to the purpose. Now, on these resolutions it is obvious to remark in how artful and cowardly a manner they shirk the real question. The notorious fact is, that the cry for labour in British Guiana is based on the alleged want of it for the cultivation of the estates, and that this is the sole ground on which it is pleaded for with the Government. On meeting a public assembly of their fellow subjects, however—we beg pardon, a county meeting of the inhabitants of Berbice—they do not venture on any such allegation. They begin talking of the "higher and holier interests of the human race;" as though the only reason why they desired the importation of Africans or Indians by hundreds of thousands was their moral and religious benefit. Innocent gentlemen! before you set up this groundless pretext, you should stop till the world has forgotten that the first slave-trade was established under the same disguise. The use of it in your mouths tends irresistibly to produce an impression that you want to establish a second. You have made the welkin ring with affirmations that you cannot get work at reasonable wages, or sufficient work at any wages: why did you not lay the same basis for your demand in the county meeting of Berbice? Obviously, because you dare not. You know that such an allegation would have been indignantly contradicted by the public voice. And now it stands broadly before the world, that, in resolutions prepared by yourselves, and expressly designed to exhibit the grounds which justify your loud demand for immigration, there is no allegation of a want of labour at all! You come as mere petitioners that the peasantry will acquiesce in the introduction of more labourers out of a benevolent regard to their religious improvement! Let the world hear this, and judge. Either you have in this case acted the part of hypocrites, and craftily appealed to the peasantry—to whom, indeed, you pay the highest possible compliment by selecting such a ground of appeal—on a ground which is not the real basis of your claim; or you have appealed to this country and the Government on allegations in which you know there is no truth. On either horn of this dilemma you acquire a distinction little to be envied.

We must pass from other topics provoking remark in these resolutions—such as the artful advocacy of immigration into the British West Indian colonies at large, when it is known that in some of them population is already redundant; and the not less artful statement that immigration will be "for the benefit of all classes," when the notorious design and certain effect of it will be to depress the position of the labourer—in order to introduce to our readers

the resolutions passed by the larger meeting assembled at Mission Chapel. They were as follows:—

1. That the peculiar circumstances of the colony, particularly its acknowledged pecuniary embarrassments—the uncertainty of retaining the protection now given to its exportable produce—the anticipated reduction in the price of labour—the probability that the immigrants will come to our shores with raised expectations of improving their temporal condition, which may be grievously disappointed—the violent prejudices against Europeans and their Christianity, which may thereby be induced—the immoral tendency of the restrictions imposed against a proportionate female immigration—the inadequacy of the means especially considering the difficulties of their language, that can be employed for their moral improvement—and the probability of their return, at the end of five years after their importation—do not warrant the conclusion that the higher and holier interests of the human race will be promoted by their immigration hither; but the contrary.

2. That the prejudicial influence, already strong on the minds of the British people, likely to arise from the injustice and oppressiveness involved in the principles, details, and probable working of the Immigration Loan and Civil List Prolongation Bills, will tend greatly to facilitate the diminution, already begun, of the protection hitherto awarded to exportable products of the British West Indies, if not to effect its entire removal. Any determination, therefore, on the part of the colonists, to persevere in the maintenance of those measures, this meeting deems exceedingly hazardous and impolitic.

These resolutions, as is obvious on the perusal of them, were framed in direct antithesis to those prepared by the Committee; and they contain a large amount of just and unanswerable sentiment. Another resolution was subsequently passed, expressing sympathy for slaves throughout the world, and leading to the formation of an anti-slavery society.

The general result of these exciting proceedings is sufficiently plain and intelligible. The planter party having aimed at passing their pet ordinances surreptitiously, Lord Stanley has required (most justly) that an opportunity should be given for the expression of public sentiment. Measures being in progress for this end, the planters, knowing that public sentiment was against them, made a desperate effort to override it. In this effort they have been signally disappointed. But their interference has produced two good effects. In the first place, it has diffused far more extensively the interest which was already felt on the subject, and brought the peasantry into a state of feeling and attitude of action altogether new in British Guiana, and pregnant with the most beneficial results. And in the next place, it has elicited proofs abundant enough to convince Lord Stanley himself, in the teeth of all that the planters may say to the contrary, that, while a certain and well-known clique is in favour of the ordinances, the population generally is against them. Measures now in progress in Guiana will demonstrate this yet more fully. As for the planters in this instance, they have, in parliamentary phrase, taken nothing by their motion. The *Guiana Times* states this to be the opinion of the leaders of that party in Demerara; while the *Berbice Gazette* coolly says that “the county meeting was little else than a practical absurdity.”

There are yet two parties of whom we must take a passing notice, before we dismiss these proceedings. The first of these is Mr. Sheriff Whinfield, of whom we happen to have some personal knowledge, and whom we can pronounce with certainty to have made on this occasion a very characteristic display. The *Congregational Record* affirms that his denunciation of the missionaries in his introductory speech was not only inflammatory, but libellous; and that it was not very fit to be spoken appears from this, that it has not been thought discreet to print it. From the report of the meeting in the *Berbice Gazette*, the greater part (although written and read) has been omitted!—certainly a very contemptuous mode, as we beg to suggest, of treating his Honour the Sheriff of Berbice. The grand display, however, achieved by this small man in office, was reserved for the close of the proceedings, when he delivered himself of the following edifying effusion, which was not written. It was fresh from his heart.

“I say that Mr. Roome treated the President of this meeting with the utmost disrespect, if he can, by a slight movement of the hand, wheel about 700 or 800 people simultaneously, in what he considers a good cause, he can exercise the same power for evil. (Cheers, cries of Yes, yes.) When I endeavoured to address them, the people continued such a clamour that I might as well have spoken to logs of wood; Mr. Roome no sooner lifts his hand, and says, ‘Go to Mission Chapel,’ than off march his party, (Laughter.) Let him him teach them to be respectful. I took the chair by the sanction of his excellency the Governor, at the request of a meeting of which the missionaries also formed a part, (cheers) and on meeting them at our own request, I am treated in a most contemptuous manner. If I learn that these men keep up any ferment among the people it will be my duty to follow them to their chapel and disperse them. (Cheers.) I have been a long time among you, you ought to know me well; it has always been my endeavour to promote the interests of the county over which I preside. (Cheers.) I am not going to change my course, but trust that you will find, I shall always endeavour so to do, and in a better spirit than those four rebellious men this day. (Bravo, bravo!)

If the notables of Berbice had given only three cheers to this oration of Mr. Sheriff Whinfield, we should have promptly added the “one cheer more,” to make up the complement of applause so justly due; but since, at least as reported, this was done upon the spot, we do not feel inclined to make his cup run over. His hit at “those four rebellious men” is particularly happy; it being an undoubted act of rebellion, not only to levy war against the Queen, but also to disappear from a meeting mismanaged by the sheriff of a county. We have no doubt, however, that his love of being

respectfully treated will counteract his *penchant* for the somewhat hazardous experiment of dispersing public meetings legally held, for the consideration of matters of public interest and importance.

Our next glance must be bestowed on the missionaries, who have certainly taken the lead on this occasion, and have thus exposed themselves to no little hostility. The organ of the West India party in this country, taking its cue, doubtless, from its correspondents in the colony, and using bitter vituperations which sufficiently show the animus of the writer, has fallen upon this estimable body of men with great force; and it is evident that a strenuous effort is to be made to detach them from the conflict. While we wish them all the prudence—and it is not a little—which their position requires, we frankly express our hope that this effort may not be successful. The agents of the London Missionary Society in Guiana are, in our judgment, only acting over again the noble part taken by Knibb and his companions of the Baptist Missionary Society, in relation to the abolition of slavery. The cases are the same in substance, however different in form. It is now, as then, the rich against the poor—oppression against the rights of industry. The missionaries may still be said to be, with few exceptions, the only friends the peasantry have, and they must not abandon them to planter domination. They will meet for the moment with bitter hostility; but they will be reckoned hereafter among the benefactors of their kind.

BRITISH GUIANA.—IMMIGRATION LOAN ORDINANCE.

TO THE RIGHT HON. BARON STANLEY, HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE, FOR THE COLONIES.

MY LORD,—On the 9th of June last the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society ventured to call your lordship's attention to the Immigration Loan Ordinance, and its adjunct, the Civil List Ordinance, then recently passed by the Combined Court of British Guiana, and to point out what they believed to be the injustice the Loan Ordinance would inflict on the labouring population of the colony; and the serious objections they entertained to the project for peopling it with the natives of Africa and Asia.

Both measures, the Loan and Civil List Ordinances, were disallowed by your lordship, on account, as your lordship states in your despatch to his Excellency, Governor Light, of the 31st July last, of their “having been passed with so much haste and precipitation, and so much in violation of the legal and constitutional manner of proceeding, that it was impossible,” your lordship adds, “to give effect to them in their present form.”

Your lordship, however, in thus rebuking the Legislature of British Guiana, did not object to the principle of the Loan bill, provided its details were regulated according to your lordship's instructions, set forth in the despatch referred to, and that a Civil List Ordinance accompanied it equal in duration to the period, say twenty-five years, that might be required to pay off the principal and interest of the loan required; for your lordship observes—“It would not be right that the loan should be raised without the enactment of the Civil List.”

Coupled with this exposition of your lordship's views, was a recommendation to raise 75,000*l.*, to defray the expenses attendant on the introduction of 5,000 Coolies from British India, which your lordship proposed should be shipped for the colony between the month of October of this, and March of the coming year; and to make provision for their return to their native country at the expiration of five years' service, which according to your lordship's calculation would require 50,000*l.* more, making in all an expenditure of 125,000*l.* connected with this single operation.

This intimation of your lordship's wishes was enough; the special session of the Combined Court was summoned by Governor Light, and within twenty-four hours of its opening, on the 5th of September last, 75,000*l.* of the public money was voted, without an opportunity having been afforded for the expression of opinion by a single class of the community, and, what is not a little remarkable, at a subsequent stage of the proceedings of the Combined Court, an additional sum of 75,000*l.* was voted, conditionally, provided your lordship would consent that the importation of Coolies should be 10,000 instead of 5,000, between the periods specified above.

If, my lord, there was haste and precipitancy in the legislation of the Combined Court when the Loan and Civil List Ordinances were originally passed, and which drew from your lordship such merited condemnation, there was equal haste in voting away the public money in the manner referred to, and that too without the shadow of an excuse for it, for the mail did not leave the colony for twelve days after the vote had been taken, during which period, brief as it was, the public voice might have been heard on the necessity and expediency of devoting so large a sum of money, with its proportionate increase, for Cooly immigration.

It was fully understood by those who had made an appeal to your lordship from British Guiana, against the Loan and Civil List Ordinances, that your lordship was “always desirous that all parties should have it in their power to make known their opinions upon any legislative measure in contemplation, unless when some peculiar exigency of the public service may interfere to prevent it.” Such opportunity was not afforded in relation to the late votes of the public money, though it might have been, and the more so, as these votes referred not to the “public service,” but to the private interests of a very small section of the people in that colony.

It might have been supposed that the Combined Court would have been satisfied with having secured the large amount of the

public funds referred to for immigration purposes, or that, at all events, the Immigration Loan and Civil List Bills would not have been re-enacted until the public had been allowed to form and express a deliberate opinion thereon; but such was not the case: about twenty-four hours before the departure of the mail, a Loan bill, embodying, no doubt, your lordship's suggestions, was laid before the Court, and passed through its several stages without debate, and again the public were taken by surprise, and effectually precluded the opportunity of being heard either against the principle or the details of the bill, though it involved questions of the deepest interest, both as it respects the material and moral welfare of all classes in the colony.

It thus appears that besides voting away 75,000*l.* of the colonial taxes for the introduction of 5,000 Coolies, and proposing to double that amount to 150,000*l.* if but 10,000 of that class of labourers be sent to them before the end of March next year; the Legislature of British Guiana have also re-enacted the Half Million Loan Bill, and passed a Civil List Bill, as an accompaniment thereto, for a period of seven years beyond 1847, on the very day, and within four hours of the closing of the mail; thus effectually preventing all opposition to this important series of measures, and burdening the resources of the colony, should they become law, with an immense debt for many years to come. The Committee cannot believe that your lordship, whatever may be your views of the expediency of these measures, will sanction this wholesale appropriation of colonial funds, without giving those who must bear the principal part of the burden they impose in some form or another, ample time for consideration, and, if need be, for remonstrance and protest.

In the event of your lordship recommending the foregoing measures to the sanction of her Majesty, the colony, as your lordship is aware, will have to provide still further sums of money in addition to those already voted, inasmuch as, at the expiration of five years from the period of the introduction of the immigrants, a return passage to India, or elsewhere, will have to be provided for the survivors, or those who do not choose to remain as settlers in the colony, which your lordship reckons as likely to be two-thirds of the whole. Thus the 75,000*l.* voted for immigration swells into 125,000*l.*—and the 500,000*l.* loan into 933,000*l.*, independent of the interest which may accrue thereon, a very large sum, until the whole shall be paid off. Nor is this all; those who die of the number intended to be imported, must be replaced to keep up the strength of the gangs that may be formed on the estates; and at the expiration of every five years from the period of importation, a number equal in amount to those who return home must be introduced, or the cultivation cannot be kept up. Thus, what may be reckoned a permanent charge on the colonial funds, over and above that originally contemplated, will be required for the purpose of supplying the colonies with foreign, and at the same time what may be justly termed, transitory labour. It may be here observed also, that, as it is intended the immigrants shall be free on their arrival in the colony to select their employers and employment, it is not to be supposed that the whole of them, especially after they have had experience of a few months' service and of intercourse with the native labourers, will devote themselves to agricultural pursuits; and of those who do, there can be no doubt, they will displace many of those at present so engaged, who will betake themselves to other occupations, not for the purpose of swelling the exports of the colony, but for mere subsistence. It appears to the Committee a far wiser plan that the planters should call into operation the resources they have at command, and by improved modes of agriculture, the more extensive application of machinery, and the more economical management of their estates, increase their exports than by the introduction of male adult labour at the public expense, the effect of which is to burthen and injure the many for the advantage of the few.

The Committee respectfully call attention to these points because they enter into the question of expense, and because they believe the expectations cherished by the advocates of immigration into the British colonies will be found delusive. The scheme at present proposed will, they are persuaded, be found too costly and cumbrous to be of any real advantage. The Committee can understand the propriety of carrying capital to the labourer and the plantation where they already exist, but they cannot discern the wisdom of carrying the labourer, at an enormous expenditure of capital, from one part of the world to another, as is now proposed by the West Indians. Had the capital which has already been wasted on emigration schemes, and which it is now proposed to expend in the transit of labourers from Africa and Asia to the colonies, been expended in the improvement of estates, and in the punctual payment of the labourers thereon, the want of additional hands would not have been felt, and the cry of general embarrassment would not have been heard.

It is not, however, on this ground, primarily, that the Committee object to the emigration of Africans and Asiatics to the British colonies, but on the higher grounds of humanity and morals. The Committee are convinced that the system about to be adopted for transporting labourers to the West Indies and South America, is not only open to exception as to the principle on which it is based, but will be found seriously objectionable, if not compulsory, in its working. It is a well-known fact, however it may be attempted to be disguised, that few emigrants to the British colonies could be obtained from India, on a fair representation of facts, to leave their native land; the consequence is, that, instead of European agents of character and conscience being employed in collecting them, native brokers are selected, who, with a host of duffadars and crimps, pre-

vail on the simple natives, under statements the most false as to the nature and reward for their work, the sphere of their labour, &c.; to enrol themselves as emigrants, and, too late, usually do they find the delusive nature of the promises made to them. The inhumanity of this course of proceeding is as great as its injustice; and the Committee are persuaded that it is beyond the power of the Government to apply a remedy for its cure which shall not be tantamount to its suppression altogether.

On the immoral tendency of the scheme the Committee have so frequently addressed your lordship that they feel it to be sufficient merely to reiterate their opinion on this point,—an opinion, however, not the result of mere speculation, but painfully confirmed by facts; this Committee would, therefore, respectfully entreat your lordship to suspend the sanction of the Crown to the measures in question until all parties affected by them may be fully heard in relation thereto.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,
Your Lordship's obedient servant,
(Signed) JOHN SCOBLE.

27, New Broad-street, Oct. 26, 1844.

Colonial Office, 19th Nov., 1844.

SIR,—I am directed by Lord Stanley to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of 26th ult. The one transmitting three memorials from inhabitants of British Guiana against the Civil List and Emigration Loan Ordinances lately enacted in that colony, the other making remarks on subjects connected with those Ordinances.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
(Signed) G. W. HOPE.

J. Scoble, Esq.

SLAVE-TRADE IN NORTH AFRICA.

(From our Correspondent.)

Algiers, 9th November, 1844.

I SEND you a translation of a paragraph from an article published in the *Revue de l'Orient*, at Paris, by M. Subtil, under the title of *Gadames*, a city on the borders of the Great Desert, situate between Tripoli and Tunis, and now garrisoned by Turkish troops from the former country. It is a very important paragraph, as showing the gradual extinction of slavery and the slave-trade in Northern Africa by the combined efforts of Government and your society. It will speak for itself, and will encourage us all to go on in the good work until Africa be delivered from the degradation of slavery. M. Subtil says:—

"The traffic in slaves was formerly one of the most important branches of the commerce of Gadames. This city received a great part of those who were brought by the caravans of Soudan, and kept there as a depôt of merchandise, which it distributed afterwards upon the different points of the coast of Barbary, but principally Tunis, which itself exported 7,000 or 8,000 per annum for the markets of Smyrna and Constantinople. But this infamous traffic since four years has been destroyed; the period at which the Bey prohibited the public sale of slaves, as well as their importation and exportation. The French occupation has equally shut the slave markets, and there are only now Tripoli and Morocco which receive slaves; but the number is very small, and diminishes every day, for these two countries dare not now export them, and only use them for domestic purposes.

"So Gadames makes no longer the sale of slaves an object of speculation. The inhabitants, with the exception of some pretty negresses, buy very few for themselves; for the number of free negroes is so very considerable that their services are obtained at a cheap rate, making the need of slaves to be less felt every day. This want of a market for slaves has very much reduced their price, and the great caravans of Soudan, which scarcely find any more profit in this traffic, bring not the tenth part of the number which they formerly did.

"But it is a singular fact, and one which makes one think that they do not love their country so much as they have been supposed to do, or perhaps they may be driven from their country by misery and persecution, THE EMIGRATION OF FREE NEGROES INCREASES IN PROPORTION AS THE TRAFFIC DIMINISHES. Now one sees arriving, with almost all the great caravans of Soudan, numerous families, entire tribes of free negroes, who abandon the south to come and establish themselves in the north. We have spoken in a former memoir of whole villages being founded in the Cyrene by these emigrants, as also in the provinces of Taverge and the Jereed of Tunis.

"When these emigrants arrive at Gadames, they are uncertain as to the choice of the provinces where they will go and establish themselves. Many follow the caravans as far as Morocco, and we know that they have formed important colonies in that empire. The emperor has favoured, by all the means in his power, the establishment on the territory of this active and labouring population; he has even formed regiments of them, who are considered the most brave, the most faithful and devoted of his troops. * * *

"I have shown the tendency of the negroes to abandon the south for the north, and I believe it would be possible to turn it to the benefit of Algeria. * * * Within twenty years more than thirty villages have been founded, both in the Cyrene and the province of Taverge, by the negroes of Central Africa; and, in spite of the exactions to which they are exposed by the vicious system of the Turkish government, the Pasha of Tripoli has not more submissive and devoted subjects, or any who pay more regularly the impost. A considerable quantity of land has been cleared by them, and the

the resolutions passed by the larger meeting assembled at Mission Chapel. They were as follows:—

1. That the peculiar circumstances of the colony, particularly its acknowledged pecuniary embarrassments—the uncertainty of retaining the protection now given to its exportable produce—the anticipated reduction in the price of labour—the probability that the immigrants will come to our shores with raised expectations of improving their temporal condition, which may be grievously disappointed—the violent prejudices against Europeans and their Christianity, which may thereby be induced—the immoral tendency of the restrictions imposed against a proportionate female immigration—the inadequacy of the means especially considering the difficulties of their language, that can be employed for their moral improvement—and the probability of their return, at the end of five years after their importation—do not warrant the conclusion that the higher and holier interests of the human race will be promoted by their immigration hither; but the contrary.

2. That the prejudicial influence, already strong on the minds of the British people, likely to arise from the injustice and oppressiveness involved in the principles, details, and probable working of the Immigration Loan and Civil List Prolongation Bills, will tend greatly to facilitate the diminution, already begun, of the protection hitherto awarded to exportable products of the British West Indies, if not to effect its entire removal. Any determination, therefore, on the part of the colonists, to persevere in the maintenance of those measures, this meeting deems exceedingly hazardous and impolitic.

These resolutions, as is obvious on the perusal of them, were framed in direct antithesis to those prepared by the Committee; and they contain a large amount of just and unanswerable sentiment. Another resolution was subsequently passed, expressing sympathy for slaves throughout the world, and leading to the formation of an anti-slavery society.

The general result of these exciting proceedings is sufficiently plain and intelligible. The planter party having aimed at passing their pet ordinances surreptitiously, Lord Stanley has required (most justly) that an opportunity should be given for the expression of public sentiment. Measures being in progress for this end, the planters, knowing that public sentiment was against them, made a desperate effort to override it. In this effort they have been signally disappointed. But their interference has produced two good effects. In the first place, it has diffused far more extensively the interest which was already felt on the subject, and brought the peasantry into a state of feeling and attitude of action altogether new in British Guiana, and pregnant with the most beneficial results. And in the next place, it has elicited proofs abundant enough to convince Lord Stanley himself, in the teeth of all that the planters may say to the contrary, that, while a certain and well-known clique is in favour of the ordinances, the population generally is against them. Measures now in progress in Guiana will demonstrate this yet more fully. As for the planters in this instance, they have, in parliamentary phrase, taken nothing by their motion. The *Guiana Times* states this to be the opinion of the leaders of that party in Demerara; while the *Berbice Gazette* coolly says that “the county meeting was little else than a practical absurdity.”

There are yet two parties of whom we must take a passing notice, before we dismiss these proceedings. The first of these is Mr. Sheriff Whinfield, of whom we happen to have some personal knowledge, and whom we can pronounce with certainty to have made on this occasion a very characteristic display. The *Congregational Record* affirms that his denunciation of the missionaries in his introductory speech was not only inflammatory, but libellous; and that it was not very fit to be spoken appears from this, that it has not been thought discreet to print it. From the report of the meeting in the *Berbice Gazette*, the greater part (although written and read) has been omitted!—certainly a very contemptuous mode, as we beg to suggest, of treating his Honour the Sheriff of Berbice. The grand display, however, achieved by this small man in office, was reserved for the close of the proceedings, when he delivered himself of the following edifying effusion, which was not written. It was fresh from his heart.

“I say that Mr. Roome treated the President of this meeting with the utmost disrespect, if he can, by a slight movement of the hand, wheel about 700 or 800 people simultaneously, in what he considers a good cause, he can exercise the same power for evil. (Cheers, cries of Yes, yes.) When I endeavoured to address them, the people continued such a clamour that I might as well have spoken to logs of wood; Mr. Roome no sooner lifts his hand, and says, ‘Go to Mission Chapel,’ than off march his party, (Laughter.) Let him him teach them to be respectful. I took the chair by the sanction of his excellency the Governor, at the request of a meeting of which the missionaries also formed a part, (cheers) and on meeting them at our own request, I am treated in a most contemptuous manner. If I learn that these men keep up any ferment among the people it will be my duty to follow them to their chapel and disperse them. (Cheers.) I have been a long time among you, you ought to know me well; it has always been my endeavour to promote the interests of the county over which I preside. (Cheers.) I am not going to change my course, but trust that you will find, I shall always endeavour so to do, and in a better spirit than those four rebellious men this day. (Bravo, bravo!)

If the notables of Berbice had given only three cheers to this oration of Mr. Sheriff Whinfield, we should have promptly added the “one cheer more,” to make up the complement of applause so justly due; but since, at least as reported, this was done upon the spot, we do not feel inclined to make his cup run over. His hit at “those four rebellious men” is particularly happy; it being an undoubted act of rebellion, not only to levy war against the Queen, but also to disappear from a meeting mismanaged by the sheriff of a county. We have no doubt, however, that his love of being

respectfully treated will counteract his *penchant* for the somewhat hazardous experiment of dispersing public meetings legally held, for the consideration of matters of public interest and importance.

Our next glance must be bestowed on the missionaries, who have certainly taken the lead on this occasion, and have thus exposed themselves to no little hostility. The organ of the West India party in this country, taking its cue, doubtless, from its correspondents in the colony, and using bitter vituperations which sufficiently show the animus of the writer, has fallen upon this estimable body of men with great force; and it is evident that a strenuous effort is to be made to detach them from the conflict. While we wish them all the prudence—and it is not a little—which their position requires, we frankly express our hope that this effort may not be successful. The agents of the London Missionary Society in Guiana are, in our judgment, only acting over again the noble part taken by Knibb and his companions of the Baptist Missionary Society, in relation to the abolition of slavery. The cases are the same in substance, however different in form. It is now, as then, the rich against the poor—oppression against the rights of industry. The missionaries may still be said to be, with few exceptions, the only friends the peasantry have, and they must not abandon them to planter domination. They will meet for the moment with bitter hostility; but they will be reckoned hereafter among the benefactors of their kind.

BRITISH GUIANA.—IMMIGRATION LOAN ORDINANCE.

TO THE RIGHT HON. BARON STANLEY, HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE, FOR THE COLONIES.

MY LORD,—On the 9th of June last the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society ventured to call your lordship's attention to the Immigration Loan Ordinance, and its adjunct, the Civil List Ordinance, then recently passed by the Combined Court of British Guiana, and to point out what they believed to be the injustice the Loan Ordinance would inflict on the labouring population of the colony; and the serious objections they entertained to the project for peopling it with the natives of Africa and Asia.

Both measures, the Loan and Civil List Ordinances, were disallowed by your lordship, on account, as your lordship states in your despatch to his Excellency, Governor Light, of the 31st July last, of their “having been passed with so much haste and precipitation, and so much in violation of the legal and constitutional manner of proceeding, that it was impossible,” your lordship adds, “to give effect to them in their present form.”

Your lordship, however, in thus rebuking the Legislature of British Guiana, did not object to the principle of the Loan bill, provided its details were regulated according to your lordship's instructions, set forth in the despatch referred to, and that a Civil List Ordinance accompanied it equal in duration to the period, say twenty-five years, that might be required to pay off the principal and interest of the loan required; for your lordship observes—“It would not be right that the loan should be raised without the enactment of the Civil List.”

Coupled with this exposition of your lordship's views, was a recommendation to raise 75,000*l.*, to defray the expenses attendant on the introduction of 5,000 Coolies from British India, which your lordship proposed should be shipped for the colony between the month of October of this, and March of the coming year; and to make provision for their return to their native country at the expiration of five years' service, which according to your lordship's calculation would require 50,000*l.* more, making in all an expenditure of 125,000*l.* connected with this single operation.

This intimation of your lordship's wishes was enough; the special session of the Combined Court was summoned by Governor Light, and within twenty-four hours of its opening, on the 5th of September last, 75,000*l.* of the public money was voted, without an opportunity having been afforded for the expression of opinion by a single class of the community, and, what is not a little remarkable, at a subsequent stage of the proceedings of the Combined Court, an additional sum of 75,000*l.* was voted, conditionally, provided your lordship would consent that the importation of Coolies should be 10,000 instead of 5,000, between the periods specified above.

If, my lord, there was haste and precipitancy in the legislation of the Combined Court when the Loan and Civil List Ordinances were originally passed, and which drew from your lordship such merited condemnation, there was equal haste in voting away the public money in the manner referred to, and that too without the shadow of an excuse for it, for the mail did not leave the colony for twelve days after the vote had been taken, during which period, brief as it was, the public voice might have been heard on the necessity and expediency of devoting so large a sum of money, with its proportionate increase, for Cooly immigration.

It was fully understood by those who had made an appeal to your lordship from British Guiana, against the Loan and Civil List Ordinances, that your lordship was “always desirous that all parties should have it in their power to make known their opinions upon any legislative measure in contemplation, unless when some peculiar exigency of the public service may interfere to prevent it.” Such opportunity was not afforded in relation to the late votes of the public money, though it might have been, and the more so, as these votes referred not to the “public service,” but to the private interests of a very small section of the people in that colony.

It might have been supposed that the Combined Court would have been satisfied with having secured the large amount of the

public funds referred to for immigration purposes, or that, at all events, the Immigration Loan and Civil List Bills would not have been re-enacted until the public had been allowed to form and express a deliberate opinion thereon; but such was not the case: about twenty-four hours before the departure of the mail, a Loan bill, embodying, no doubt, your lordship's suggestions, was laid before the Court, and passed through its several stages without debate, and again the public were taken by surprise, and effectually precluded the opportunity of being heard either against the principle or the details of the bill, though it involved questions of the deepest interest, both as it respects the material and moral welfare of all classes in the colony.

It thus appears that besides voting away 75,000*l.* of the colonial taxes for the introduction of 5,000 Coolies, and proposing to double that amount to 150,000*l.* if but 10,000 of that class of labourers be sent to them before the end of March next year; the Legislature of British Guiana have also re-enacted the Half Million Loan Bill, and passed a Civil List Bill, as an accompaniment thereto, for a period of seven years beyond 1847, on the very day, and within four hours of the closing of the mail; thus effectually preventing all opposition to this important series of measures, and burdening the resources of the colony, should they become law, with an immense debt for many years to come. The Committee cannot believe that your lordship, whatever may be your views of the expediency of these measures, will sanction this wholesale appropriation of colonial funds, without giving those who must bear the principal part of the burden they impose in some form or another, ample time for consideration, and, if need be, for remonstrance and protest.

In the event of your lordship recommending the foregoing measures to the sanction of her Majesty, the colony, as your lordship is aware, will have to provide still further sums of money in addition to those already voted, inasmuch as, at the expiration of five years from the period of the introduction of the immigrants, a return passage to India, or elsewhere, will have to be provided for the survivors, or those who do not choose to remain as settlers in the colony, which your lordship reckons as likely to be two-thirds of the whole. Thus the 75,000*l.* voted for immigration swells into 125,000*l.*—and the 500,000*l.* loan into 933,000*l.*, independent of the interest which may accrue thereon, a very large sum, until the whole shall be paid off. Nor is this all; those who die of the number intended to be imported, must be replaced to keep up the strength of the gangs that may be formed on the estates; and at the expiration of every five years from the period of importation, a number equal in amount to those who return home must be introduced, or the cultivation cannot be kept up. Thus, what may be reckoned a permanent charge on the colonial funds, over and above that originally contemplated, will be required for the purpose of supplying the colonies with foreign, and at the same time what may be justly termed, transitory labour. It may be here observed also, that, as it is intended the immigrants shall be free on their arrival in the colony to select their employers and employment, it is not to be supposed that the whole of them, especially after they have had experience of a few months' service and of intercourse with the native labourers, will devote themselves to agricultural pursuits; and of those who do, there can be no doubt, they will displace many of those at present so engaged, who will betake themselves to other occupations, not for the purpose of swelling the exports of the colony, but for mere subsistence. It appears to the Committee a far wiser plan that the planters should call into operation the resources they have at command, and by improved modes of agriculture, the more extensive application of machinery, and the more economical management of their estates, increase their exports than by the introduction of male adult labour at the public expense, the effect of which is to burthen and injure the many for the advantage of the few.

The Committee respectfully call attention to these points because they enter into the question of expense, and because they believe the expectations cherished by the advocates of immigration into the British colonies will be found delusive. The scheme at present proposed will, they are persuaded, be found too costly and cumbrous to be of any real advantage. The Committee can understand the propriety of carrying capital to the labourer and the plantation where they already exist, but they cannot discern the wisdom of carrying the labourer, at an enormous expenditure of capital, from one part of the world to another, as is now proposed by the West Indians. Had the capital which has already been wasted on emigration schemes, and which it is now proposed to expend in the transit of labourers from Africa and Asia to the colonies, been expended in the improvement of estates, and in the punctual payment of the labourers thereon, the want of additional hands would not have been felt, and the cry of general embarrassment would not have been heard.

It is not, however, on this ground, primarily, that the Committee object to the emigration of Africans and Asiatics to the British colonies, but on the higher grounds of humanity and morals. The Committee are convinced that the system about to be adopted for transporting labourers to the West Indies and South America, is not only open to exception as to the principle on which it is based, but will be found seriously objectionable, if not compulsory, in its working. It is a well-known fact, however it may be attempted to be disguised, that few emigrants to the British colonies could be obtained from India, on a fair representation of facts, to leave their native land; the consequence is, that, instead of European agents of character and conscience being employed in collecting them, native brokers are selected, who, with a host of duffadars and crimps, pre-

vail on the simple natives, under statements the most false as to the nature and reward for their work, the sphere of their labour, &c.; to enrol themselves as emigrants, and, too late, usually do they find the delusive nature of the promises made to them. The inhumanity of this course of proceeding is as great as its injustice; and the Committee are persuaded that it is beyond the power of the Government to apply a remedy for its cure which shall not be tantamount to its suppression altogether.

On the immoral tendency of the scheme the Committee have so frequently addressed your lordship that they feel it to be sufficient merely to reiterate their opinion on this point,—an opinion, however, not the result of mere speculation, but painfully confirmed by facts; this Committee would, therefore, respectfully entreat your lordship to suspend the sanction of the Crown to the measures in question until all parties affected by them may be fully heard in relation thereto.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,
Your Lordship's obedient servant,
(Signed) JOHN SCOBLE.

27, New Broad-street, Oct. 26, 1844.

Colonial Office, 19th Nov., 1844.

SIR,—I am directed by Lord Stanley to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of 26th ult. The one transmitting three memorials from inhabitants of British Guiana against the Civil List and Emigration Loan Ordinances lately enacted in that colony, the other making remarks on subjects connected with those Ordinances.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
(Signed) G. W. HOPE.

J. Scoble, Esq.

SLAVE-TRADE IN NORTH AFRICA.

(From our Correspondent.)

Algiers, 9th November, 1844.

I SEND you a translation of a paragraph from an article published in the *Revue de l'Orient*, at Paris, by M. Subtil, under the title of *Gadames*, a city on the borders of the Great Desert, situate between Tripoli and Tunis, and now garrisoned by Turkish troops from the former country. It is a very important paragraph, as showing the gradual extinction of slavery and the slave-trade in Northern Africa by the combined efforts of Government and your society. It will speak for itself, and will encourage us all to go on in the good work until Africa be delivered from the degradation of slavery. M. Subtil says:—

"The traffic in slaves was formerly one of the most important branches of the commerce of Gadames. This city received a great part of those who were brought by the caravans of Soudan, and kept there as a depôt of merchandise, which it distributed afterwards upon the different points of the coast of Barbary, but principally Tunis, which itself exported 7,000 or 8,000 per annum for the markets of Smyrna and Constantinople. But this infamous traffic since four years has been destroyed; the period at which the Bey prohibited the public sale of slaves, as well as their importation and exportation. The French occupation has equally shut the slave markets, and there are only now Tripoli and Morocco which receive slaves; but the number is very small, and diminishes every day, for these two countries dare not now export them, and only use them for domestic purposes.

"So Gadames makes no longer the sale of slaves an object of speculation. The inhabitants, with the exception of some pretty negresses, buy very few for themselves; for the number of free negroes is so very considerable that their services are obtained at a cheap rate, making the need of slaves to be less felt every day. This want of a market for slaves has very much reduced their price, and the great caravans of Soudan, which scarcely find any more profit in this traffic, bring not the tenth part of the number which they formerly did.

"But it is a singular fact, and one which makes one think that they do not love their country so much as they have been supposed to do, or perhaps they may be driven from their country by misery and persecution, THE EMIGRATION OF FREE NEGROES INCREASES IN PROPORTION AS THE TRAFFIC DIMINISHES. Now one sees arriving, with almost all the great caravans of Soudan, numerous families, entire tribes of free negroes, who abandon the south to come and establish themselves in the north. We have spoken in a former memoir of whole villages being founded in the Cyrene by these emigrants, as also in the provinces of Tavergera and the Jereed of Tunis.

"When these emigrants arrive at Gadames, they are uncertain as to the choice of the provinces where they will go and establish themselves. Many follow the caravans as far as Morocco, and we know that they have formed important colonies in that empire. The emperor has favoured, by all the means in his power, the establishment on the territory of this active and labouring population; he has even formed regiments of them, who are considered the most brave, the most faithful and devoted of his troops. * * *

"I have shown the tendency of the negroes to abandon the south for the north, and I believe it would be possible to turn it to the benefit of Algeria. * * * Within twenty years more than thirty villages have been founded, both in the Cyrene and the province of Tavergera, by the negroes of Central Africa; and, in spite of the exactions to which they are exposed by the vicious system of the Turkish government, the Pasha of Tripoli has not more submissive and devoted subjects, or any who pay more regularly the impost. A considerable quantity of land has been cleared by them, and the

environs of their villages, which announce a people active and laborious, are remarkable for the variety and richness of the cultivation, and for a striking contrast to the localities inhabited by the Arabs. These negroes are generally mild, inoffensive, and hospitable; but, when their persons or their property are attacked, they defend themselves with courage. They have for chiefs white Marabouts (saints), who are sent by the Pasha on their arrival to convert them to Islamism; for these emigrants come principally from Lake Tshad, and are nearly all Pagans, but they easily embrace the religion of the people amongst whom they establish themselves. * * *.—*Revue de l'Orient*, Oct., 1844.

This paragraph, you perceive, offers many interesting subjects for reflection. Here is the unbiassed testimony of a Frenchman to the "active and laborious" character of the negroes of Northern Africa, and those who emigrate from the south to the north. These negroes work, not because they are slaves, and are driven by a hard master, but because they are free and are their own masters. M. Subil has so much confidence in their character, that he recommends his government to establish free negro villages on the most vulnerable points of the Algerian frontier towards the Desert. And would not this be an excellent means of civilizing Africa by her own afflicted children? Could not the wastes of the northern coast be filled up with these "active and laborious" free negroes? Yes, certainly, if England had to make the experiment. The time, however, will come—it is fast approaching. Africa will at last be free, as she is in the hands of a kind Providence.

NOTICES.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all News-venders throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum. A few complete volumes are on hand.

Subscriptions and Donations to the Society should be forwarded to the Treasurer, (G. W. Alexander, Esq.,) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street, London.

All Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* must be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, NOVEMBER 27, 1844.

OUR readers will see by this day's paper, that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have presented a memorial to Lord Stanley, as Secretary for the Colonies, on the subject of West Indian immigration. We have to state further, that a memorial taking a more general view of the question of immigration has been presented also to Sir Robert Peel, as head of the Government, and that on Monday last a deputation waited on him at Downing-street, by appointment, in relation to it. The gentlemen composing the deputation were, Messrs. Josiah Forster, George Stacey, Samuel Gurney, Robert Forster, Joseph Cooper, the Rev. J. H. Hinton, and the Secretary. The Premier was accompanied by Lord Stanley. The reception of the deputation was highly courteous, and the conversation lasted above an hour. In the course of it Lord Stanley communicated the gratifying intelligence that the second set of Guiana ordinances had been disallowed, in consequence of the expense of immigration being thrown on the general taxation of the colony. His lordship, it appeared, was resolved that this burden, being intended for the benefit of the producers, should be borne by produce. So far it is well that the scheme of making the peasantry pay for the importation of their rivals is to be frustrated; it follows, however, that the heavy cost of immigration is still to be paid, and by—ourselves. In conclusion, Sir Robert Peel expressed his entire concurrence in one of the leading principles of the Society, that it was by the abolition of slavery alone that we could ever hope for the extinction of the slave-trade.

THE West India mail brings news of considerable importance. The animated proceedings in British Guiana we have noticed elsewhere. In Jamaica the House of Assembly has met, and proceeded, with a very full attendance, to an early consideration of the Coolie question, as proposed by Lord Stanley; and the result is somewhat singular and significant. His Lordship, our readers will recollect, had sent out an offer, that, if the colonies of Jamaica, Guiana, and Trinidad, would vote adequate and specified sums of money, the Government would forward 5,000 Coolies to each of the former colonies, and half that number to the last. British Guiana has doubled what the noble Secretary asked; but Jamaica—recalcitrant and ungrateful Jamaica—has cut it down to less than half! The vote originally proposed in the House of Assembly was to provide but for 3,000, (unless the whole number of 5,000 were irrevocably on the way) and an amendment was carried reducing the number to 2,000. That this vote must have taken Lord Stanley by surprise, is evident from the fact that the entire number of Coolies has been ordered for Jamaica, and that it has been deemed necessary to send despatches to the Cape of Good Hope, directing the now redundant part of them to Trinidad and British Guiana. That it has taken by surprise the West India body in this country is also clear from several indications, among which not the least decisive is the article in the *Colonial Gazette*, entitled the *Veto of the Jamaica Assembly on Immigration*. If we may ven-

ture to say that this vote has not altogether taken us by surprise, it is in consequence, partly of some private communications which we have had from the colonies, and partly of the tenor of some articles which have appeared in the colonial papers—such, for example, as the extract from the *Jamaica Morning Journal*, inserted in our last number. Our contemporary of the *Colonial Gazette* can find no element into which to resolve the vote which so deeply mortifies him, but missionary influence. We can assure him, however, (and we have for some time been acquainted with the fact,) that there is a large body of the resident proprietors and cultivators of estates who do not sympathize in what they regard as the immigration mania, and who anticipate from it an aggravation, rather than a relief, of the present difficulties. From this party it is far more rational to suppose the decision of the Assembly has arisen, and we hope it will tell powerfully on the mind of Lord Stanley. It shows clearly that the call for extended immigration proceeds from a party merely, and not from the body of those who are interested in the cultivation of estates; and it brings into grave question the allegations, however positively made, or however often reiterated, on which the supposed necessity of immigration has been made to rest.

The only other matter of importance in the papers relates to St. Lucia, where a state of disturbance has arisen which we hope will be of short continuance. The management of the population of that island evidently requires much prudence, as well as vigour. We must protest against the endeavours, which we are sorry to see made in some quarters, to implicate especially either the emancipated population or the refugees from Martinique. The affair clearly belongs to the community at large.

FROM the United States we have intelligence that the presidential contest is over, and that Mr. Polk is supposed to be the victor. Upon this subject we shall not pretend to prophesy; but our readers will find the opinion of a valuable American friend, Lewis Tappan, expressed in another column. The nomination of Mr. Frelinghuysen as a candidate for the Vice-Presidency has given occasion to an excellent letter to that gentleman from the Hon. Judge Jay, which, although of great length, we have inserted entire.

Under the head United States, we have inserted a most interesting extract of a letter from the Rev. J. W. C. Pennington to Mr. Sturge. We scarcely need explain to our readers that Mr. Pennington is the gentleman of colour who attended the Anti-Slavery Convention in London, in 1843, and spoke with so much effect, both in the Convention, and at the Annual Meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society at Exeter Hall. During his stay in England he became well known to an extensive circle of religious friends and everywhere conciliated the highest esteem.

WE had intended to notice the very interesting and important meeting of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, in relation to the Free Church of Scotland; but we are reluctantly compelled, by a pressure of circumstances, to postpone this matter till our next. Under the same pressure we must delay for the moment paying our compliments to the *League*.

UNITED STATES.—JUDGE JAY'S LETTER TO MR. FRELINGHUYSEN.

SIR,—Your present position is no less extraordinary than important. You are a candidate for the second office in the gift of the nation; and due experience reminds us, that if elected, you may be required to fulfil the duties of the first. But it is not the mere circumstances of your nomination, that directs the gaze of the community upon you with such peculiar interest. Other men before you have been nominated for the same office, but they were the leaders of parties, and their movements were easily anticipated. You, Sir, have not been selected from the ordinary mass of politicians. You have been unexpectedly called from the quiet pursuits of literature, the zealous discharge of religious duties, and the exercise of Christian benevolence, and commended to the suffrages of the people, rather as the representative of the Christianity of the nation, than as a political partisan.

The novelty of such a position is equalled only by its responsibility. All are anxiously waiting to see how far a Christian candidate, unsoiled by the world, unscathed by the breath of slander, will, in his pursuit of office, differ from the common herd of political aspirants.

The following letter, copied from the *Louisiana Chronicle*, is now going the round of the newspapers:

"TO JOSEPH G. HALL, ESQ., OF HERNANDO, MISSISSIPPI.

"New York, June 11th, 1844.

"Dear Sir,—I received your kind letter, and thank you for the friendly interest you have taken in this matter. I cheerfully respond that I am not an Abolitionist, and never have been. I have been an ardent friend of the Colonization Society, and still am. Slavery in the States is a domestic concern that Congress has not the right or power to interfere with in its legislation.

"Very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"THEO. FRELINGHUYSEN."

The subject of this letter, the response it contains, the quarter of the country to which it was addressed, all divest it of the character of a private communication; and its publication at the South, together with its commendation by the *slave press*, warrant the belief that it was written for the express purpose for which it is used, as an electioneering document.

If it be an apostolic injunction, that our conversation should be "to the use of edifying, that it may minister grace to the hearers," surely the

obligation is not suspended, when a Christian in your situation speaks to the nation through the press.

But alas, sir, what tendency is there in this letter to "minister grace" to the readers? It contains not a sentiment that might not have been appropriately uttered by any driver on a Southern plantation, or by any common trafficker in human flesh. A glorious opportunity was afforded you for speaking "a word in season," and for maintaining your Christian profession, by rising above that "fear of man which bringeth a snare," and bearing your testimony against the stupendous wickedness of a system equally at war with the doctrines of your religion, and the prosperity and liberty of your country. But, sir, if your Christian friends have cause to regret the omissions in your letter, still more cause have they to grieve for its contents.

To convince the slaveholding electors that you are not an abolitionist, you acquaint them with both your practice and your creed. You support the Colonization Society, and you believe Congress cannot legislate about slavery in the States.

And is this the Christian frankness and justice that might have been expected from Theodore Frelinghuysen? Is this the knowledge on the subject of abolition that might have been anticipated from a candidate for the Vice Presidency of the United States?

You support the Colonization Society:—and how, sir, does this prove that you are not an abolitionist? There is not a syllable in its constitution adverse to abolition. Abolitionists have no objection to the colonization of such coloured persons as really and freely desire it; and they have had the happiness of aiding a great number of our coloured countrymen to colonize in Canada; and be assured, sir, they will omit no opportunity of assisting as many more as possible to settle in that free land. It is true we object not to the constitution of the Society of which you are so ardent a friend, but to the practical influence exerted by the Society against abolition. But you and your Northern associates positively deny the existence of any such influence, and hence it does not become you, sir, to tell the slaveholders you are not an abolitionist because you support the Society. The great champion of your Society, Dr. Reese, declares, (Reese's Letters, p. 12,) "That the American Colonization Society either deprecates the emancipation of slaves, or censures all who propose it, is palpably in contravention of multiplied facts." Again he asserts, (p. 41,) "The Society does not merely 'promise' to promote abolition, but exerts a mighty and successful moral influence in actually abolishing slavery." And here I will refer you to the truth, which he who runs may read, that in Kentucky, Delaware, Maryland, and even Virginia itself, it is now openly avowed, that colonization doctrines have sealed the death warrant of slavery! Hence the pro-slavery party have declared that "*colonization and emancipation are synonymous terms.*" Now, sir, if your champion speaks the truth, (and his book was given to the public with the high recommendation of various distinguished colonizationists,) was it honest, manly, Christian, to enforce your disclaimer of abolition, by appealing to your support of a Society that "not merely promises to promote abolition, but exerts a mighty and successful moral influence in actually abolishing slavery?"

From your practice, permit me to turn to your creed. The slaveholders are to understand that you are not an abolitionist, because you hold that "Slavery in the States is a domestic concern; that Congress has not the right or power to interfere with its legislation!" Verily, sir, so far as your creed goes, you are an abolitionist of the strictest sect; even of the Garrison school. Mr. Garrison, speaking of slavery in the States, years ago, uttered the following language in his *Liberator*:—"Abolitionists as clearly understand and as sacredly regard the constitutional powers of Congress, as do their traducers; and they know, and have again and again asserted, that Congress has no more rightful authority to sit in judgment upon Southern slavery, than it has to legislate for the abolition of slavery in the French colonies." But this, you may say, is the language only of an individual. Take then, sir, the declaration of the celebrated Anti-Slavery Convention, which in 1833 organised the American Anti-Slavery Society. "We freely and unanimously recognise the sovereignty of each State, to legislate exclusively on the subject of slavery, which is tolerated within its limits. We consider that Congress has no right to interfere with any of the slave States in relation to this subject." Certainly, sir, your creed would not have deprived you of the honour of a seat in that glorious Convention.

In 1835, the Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society published an address to the public, in which they declared, "We hold that Congress has no more right to abolish slavery in the Southern States, than in the French West India Islands. Of course, we desire no national legislation on the subject." But, perhaps, sir, you may imagine that the Abolitionists have changed their opinions since the date of these extracts, and they no longer hold the same faith with yourself. If so, you will be surprised to learn, that within the last three or four months they have printed, and are now widely circulating a work, entitled, "A View of the Action of the Federal Government in behalf of Slavery;" that this work is strongly recommended by the journals devoted to "The Liberty Party;" and that it contains the following passage:—"If the Abolitionists, unmindful of their solemn and repeated disclaimers of all power in the Congress to legislate for the abolition of slavery in the States, should with unexampled perfidy attempt to bring about such legislation—and if Congress, regardless of their oaths, should ever be guilty of the consummate folly and wickedness of passing a law emancipating the slaves held under State authority, the Union would most unquestionably be rent in twain."

And now, sir, I may ask, whether in intimating that the abolitionists held a contrary doctrine, and that you therefore could not be one of them, you have acted with candour, either to them or to the slaveholders?

It is deeply to be regretted that the brevity of your letter precluded a statement of your opinion on some other important constitutional points. The slaveholders would like to know, sir, whether in any, or in what particulars, you differ from the abolitionists in their construction of the Federal Constitution. I am fully persuaded, that on all its constitutional points which the abolitionists have had occasion to discuss and enforce, you fully agree with them. Permit me to enumerate them.

1st. They contend that Congress possesses the right to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. On the 10th of January, 1838, Mr. Webster, opposing in the Senate a resolution declaring that to abolish slavery in

the District would be a violation of faith; remarked, "I do not know any matter of fact, or any ground of argument, on which this affirmation of plighted faith can stand. I see nothing in the act of cession, and nothing in the constitution, and nothing in the history of this transaction, and nothing in any other transaction, implying any limitation on the authority of Congress." It is not, I trust, presuming too much, that on this point, you concur with Mr. Webster and the abolitionists.

2ndly. We contend that Congress has the power to abolish the internal slave-trade. The electors of Mississippi would doubtless like to know, whether on this point, you are an abolitionist. You are, I presume, too good a Whig, to impugn the authority of Daniel Webster, as interpreter of the constitution. That gentleman thus argued the point in his speech in the Senate, January 1, 1837. "With respect to the power to regulate the transfer of slaves from one State to another, there was no doubt in his mind that Congress also possessed this power. The constitution conferred on Congress the power to regulate trade between the States, and so long as the slaves remained as property, they were the subjects of commerce, and as such, came within the views of the constitution."

3dly. We contend that Congress may and ought to receive petitions for the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia. I cannot believe, sir, that you would venture to tell your friend Mr. Hall, that in this particular you "are not an Abolitionist." In 1836, Mr. Webster on presenting such petitions said, "he was of opinion that Congress ought to receive those petitions and deliberate upon them."

4thly. Abolitionists have insisted that Congress ought not to admit any new slave State into the Union. If in so doing they have misunderstood the provisions of the Constitution, it is some consolation to them that they have erred in common with the great expounder of the Constitution, Daniel Webster. In 1819, that gentleman at a public meeting in Boston opposed the admission of Missouri into the Union. The following is an extract from the report of his speech. "The Hon. D. Webster concurred with Mr. Blake in his views of the Constitutional question, which he farther illustrated by an historical view of the admission of the several States of the Union, since the adoption of the Constitution, and showed incontrovertibly by negative and positive examples, that Congress had this power; and that they were called upon by all the principles of sound policy, humanity and morality, to exert it; and by prohibiting slavery in the new State of Missouri, oppose a barrier to the further progress of slavery, which else (and this was the last time an opportunity would happen to fix its limits) would roll on, desolating a vast expanse of country, to the Pacific ocean."

By this time, sir, I trust you are convinced of the truth of Mr. Garrison's assertion, that "abolitionists as clearly understand and as sacredly regard, the constitutional powers of congress as do their traducers."

If then your disclaimer of being an abolitionist, does not rest upon constitutional, it must be founded on moral and religious grounds. It would, sir, be a matter of great interest to the various religious societies with which you are connected, and to the vast multitude of Christian men who have rejoiced in your nomination, to be informed on what principles of ethics, or what precepts of the gospel of Christ, you oppose the abolition of slavery.

It cannot be necessary to prove to you, that American slavery, as by law established, necessarily involves the following consequences, viz. :—

1. It debars immortal and accountable beings, charged with no crime, from the pursuit of happiness, and reduces them to articles of merchandise.
2. It dooms their posterity to degradation and bondage.
3. It annihilates the marriage relation, by refusing to acknowledge it, and authorizing the separation of those whom God hath joined, at the irresponsible will of the master.
4. It annihilates the parental relation, by transferring from the parent the authority given by God, to the master, who is authorized to sell both parents and children, like cattle in the market.
5. It annihilates the rights of conscience, by giving to the master entire dominion over the time and conduct of the slave.

These are not consequences flowing from the cruelty of the master, but they are the legitimate and constituent elements of slavery itself, and the institution dies the moment it is deprived of any one of these elements.

Abolitionists maintain that such a system is adverse to the whole spirit and genius of Christianity, and consequently sinful. But what says Mr. Frelinghuysen? Your answer, sir, had it not been for your late letter, might have been satisfactorily inferred from the great principles you have so often announced in your addresses before Bible, Missionary, Tract, Sunday School, and Temperance Societies, and Sabbath Unions. Very recently you enforced the claims of the Missionary Society, by dwelling on "the worth of the soul,"—that endless being "which unless sprinkled with atoning blood and purified by the light of truth, must dwell with the worm that dieth not;" and you exclaimed, "What solemn import, what matchless interest, attaches to the enterprise which seeks to bring salvation near to millions!" You alluded to millions in other lands; but is the enterprise of less solemn import, of less matchless interest, when exerted in behalf of millions of your own countrymen? Are the souls of Hindoos more dear to the Redeemer, and of more worth to their owners, than the souls of American slaves? Abolitionists are labouring to bring these slaves into a state in which their souls may be sprinkled with atoning blood, and purified by the light of truth; and yet, sir, you assure the masters of these slaves, that you are not an abolitionist!

If slavery be a righteous institution, the negative position you assume in relation to it is not that which under existing circumstances a Christian ought to maintain. It is vehemently assailed both in this country, and throughout the civilized world; and yet you come not up to the help of the Lord against the mighty. True it is you disclaim all sympathy with the assailants; but why, sir, do you not aid your Southern friends in defending the patriarchal institution; why slumbers your eloquence in proclaiming the consistency of human bondage with the benevolence of the Deity, the spirit of the gospel, and the virtue and happiness of mankind?

But if slavery insults all the attributes of God, and outrages all the rights of man, how comes it, sir, that while you call upon "patriots and philanthropists, as well as Christians," to aid the Board of Foreign Missions in overturning the ungodly institutions of China and Hindostan, you refuse even to be numbered among those who are endeavouring to destroy an institution in our own land, that equally curses the life that now

is, and that which is to come? Unless the principles of justice and humanity, and the precepts of our religion, are all reversed in their application to men with dark complexions, you stultify yourself every time you open your lips on the platform of a religious society, if you deny the exceeding sinfulness of American slavery.

Does the command, "cease to do evil," allow years, nay, centuries, for its fulfilment? Do you give this latitude to the command in your exhortations before Temperance Societies and Sabbath Unions? If not, and you believe slavery to be sinful, on what principle do you object to its immediate abolition?

I beg you to believe that this letter is in no degree prompted by a desire to defeat your election, and promote that of your democratic opponent. Such a result could afford me no gratification, as an abolitionist, a patriot, or a Christian. The subject of your letter is of infinitely more importance to the welfare of our country and the purity of our religion, than all the petty objects of party contention. You have lent the influence of your name, associated as it is with the religious zeal and benevolence of the nation, to the cause of slavery. You have done great injustice (ignorantly I would hope) to abolitionists, by indirectly representing them as aiming at unconstitutional legislation on the part of Congress. Before long we shall each of us be called to give an account of our stewardship,—an account involving the use we have made of our respective talents, in upholding or resisting that stupendous accumulation of sin and misery, American slavery. In reference to the judgment of Him, before whom all nations are counted less than nothing and vanity, how utterly worthless are all the honours which the breath of popular favour can bestow! There was a time when the advocates of Temperance Societies were subjected to nearly the same obloquy as that which is now the portion of those who in this republic, assert the equality of human rights. At that time Thomas S. Grimke, holding much the same position in the religious community at the South, with that now occupied by yourself at the North, was a candidate for the Intendancy of Charleston. Some of its opponents addressed a letter to him inquiring if he was a friend to Temperance Societies. To this interrogatory he replied in the newspapers, "Yes—and I thank God I am." Most fervently do I wish, sir, that a more intimate acquaintance with the subjects of slavery and abolition than you appear to possess at present, together with a serious inquiry into your own responsibilities, may, through the Divine blessing, yet lead you to exclaim, "I am an Abolitionist, and I thank God I am."

I have the honour to be, sir, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

Bedford, 1st Oct. 1844.

WILLIAM JAY.

Correspondence.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

SIR,—In your Reporter, of the 30th ult., there is an error with respect to the heading of two articles taken from the morning papers, on the subject of slavery in the Asiatic possessions of Portugal. The article taken from the *Chronicle* is headed, "From the Correspondent of the *Times*;" and that from the *Times* is headed, "From the Correspondent of the *Chronicle*." The error is not of importance, except to those who must naturally wish to be held responsible only for their own opinions or reports.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

M.

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—DOINGS OF THE ASSEMBLY.—The present mail takes to parties abroad accounts of the opening of our New House of Assembly. The first week of the session was not characterised by anything extraordinary; but the first day's sitting of the present week was remarkable for the large attendance of members, and the period during which the house sat. There were forty-five members present, only one absent from indisposition, and one vacancy (for Metcalfe) not yet filled up. The question which brought members together was the introduction of Hill Coolies into the island, and it occasioned considerable discussion. Opposition was given to the motion that the house should resolve itself into a committee upon the state of the island, upon the Governor's message on this subject, but it being deemed advisable that no time should be lost in informing the Government of the opinion of the house as to the propriety of introducing the proposed number of Coolies, it failed. After a very lengthy discussion, and several motions had been made and lost, the committee came to the following resolution:—

"That in the event of the Colonial Secretary having made arrangements for sending 5,000 Hill Coolies to the island, the house will make provision, by law, to cover the expense of their importation, and of the re-conveyance of such of them as may, after the termination of five years, wish to return to India, in accordance with the terms agreed upon by the Government of England and India; but that in case such arrangements have not been completed, the house deem it expedient that 3,000 only of that number should be imported during the first year."

Upon this resolution being reported to the house, it was moved:—

"That in the present financial state of the island, this house cannot guarantee the repayment of any expenditure for the importation of Hill Coolies beyond the sums voted by law for immigration purposes."

And lost; 18 members voting for it, and 24 against it.

It was then moved—

"That this house will make provision by law to cover the expense of the importation of the 5,000 Coolies, alluded to in the Secretary of State's dispatches, accompanying the Governor's first message of the 17th Oct., and of the re-conveyance of such of them as may, after the termination of five years, desire to return to India."

But on division there appeared only 11 in favour of the proposition, and 31 against it. Upon the resolution reported from the committee being put, it was proposed to reduce the number of Coolies which should be sent out, in the event of the arrangements not having been completed for the larger number, to two thousand, instead of three. The numbers on this division were 21 for and 21 against. The Speaker gave the casting vote, and resolution was amended accordingly. We have said that

the matter created considerable discussion, and the house did not rise until within a few minutes of ten o'clock—the usual hour for adjourning being seven.—*Morning Journal*.

ST. LUCIA.—Long accounts are given in the papers of the disturbed state into which the town and neighbourhood of Castries have fallen under the following circumstances. Louison Chery, a boy, being sentenced to a public whipping of fifteen lashes and a month's imprisonment, an address was got up to the governor to remit the whipping as too great a degradation. The executive persisting, a crowd collected, as if to prevent the infliction; and, the assemblage not being interfered with, some of the roughest spirits began to break into stores, and arm themselves with negro cutlasses, &c. The governor, Colonel Torrens, issued a proclamation to the effect that he would further consider of Chery's case; and he ultimately, ostensibly on a medical certificate, abandoned the flogging. Subsequently a body of men at work on the roads became restive and turbulent; and some parties were found to be spreading a report that the peasantry were to be again reduced to slavery. This mischief the governor endeavoured promptly to meet by an explanatory proclamation; and he offered a reward of 250 dollars for such "information as may lead to the detection and conviction of the wicked persons who have laboured, and are now labouring, to persuade the late enfranchised population that it is intended by the British Government to restore slavery in this island." The disturbance seems to have implicated particularly some more respectable inhabitants of the town, and to have had nothing to do with the enfranchised population.

BRITISH GUIANA.—Extract of a letter dated New Amsterdam, Berbice, Oct. 18, 1844.—"Of the public meeting, the 'monster meeting' here, last week, you will receive an account in the *Congregational Record*. You will see that we have resolved to form ourselves into an Auxiliary Anti-Slavery Society. We have raised a terrific storm about our ears. Poor me, especially, living in town, and supposed to be the ringleader of the mischief, is exposed to all the fury of the tempest. I hope you are doing all in your power to arouse the public. I deliberately believe, that if the Coolie Immigration scheme is to go on, it would have been better that the fetters of the slave had never been knocked off, and that the people of England had not paid their twenty millions. I regard the scheme as only another, and a more dangerous incarnation of the demon of slavery. I will tell you one simple fact in reference to immigration, which in itself speaks, at least, *one* volume. In the midst of their loud and doleful outcry for immigrants, I have often asked the planters why they do not use the plough? And the answer I invariably get is, '*Manual labour is cheaper*.' They also add, that the mortality amongst cattle employed at the plough is very great, &c. Thus, according to their own confession, the work is too hard for horses, mules, or oxen, and therefore human beings must be got to do it! It has been annoying beyond measure to them, to have us expose before the people the nakedness and deformity of their scheme. I sent by last mail a memorial to Lord Stanley, signed by nearly twelve hundred people. We are going to get up a great petition to Parliament, with some thousands of names to it. Our people are suffering dreadful persecution just now, in every available form. Threats and intimidations, exclusive dealing, &c., are used to silence my more respectable and leading people in town. The old spirit of slavery still lives in all its vigour. I am in constant fear of their setting fire to our chapel."

TRINIDAD.—THE OLD LEAVEN.—Extract of a letter, dated Port of Spain, Oct. 12th, 1844.—Some time ago, I had the pleasure of addressing you regarding our anti-slavery meeting, held on the 1st of August in this town. At the same time, I noticed the formation of the "Trinidad Free Labourers' Society," under the guidance of Mr. M'Kay; and I enclosed also a copy of resolutions adopted and printed by the Society. My object in now writing to you is, to put you in possession of events that have occurred in connection with Mr. M'Kay's movements, since my last. Mr. M'Kay, though young in years, is nevertheless a practical planter, and of far more energy of mind than are many of the slovenly race of the old school. His calculations with regard to the necessary expenses of sugar cultivation, and the proceeds to be realized by the proprietors when independent of money-lenders, show beyond a doubt, that, at the rate of sugar-prices now, the cultivation of a sugar-estate is no vain speculation, notwithstanding the general outcry of the planters to the contrary. His object in forming the above Society, is to induce the labourers of Trinidad to act on the Demerara plan of purchasing estates of their own, and, by cultivating them on enlightened principles, to prove to the world what free labour could do under proper management. In prosecuting his object, he took occasion to expose the course pursued by the planters towards their labourers, in entering into combination against them for the reduction of wages, and the *falsity* of the reasons assigned by them to the labourers for so doing. "The price of sugar," they said, "was very much reduced in the home market; that sugar did not sell now as formerly;" and a variety of other statements were made by them, to show cause why the labourer should be reduced in his day's hire tenpence sterling, or two bits of our money. This reduction not being universal, as a few of the planters continued to give the usual price, the people could not understand how one planter could afford to pay more than another, if "sugar did not sell," as they were informed. The immigrants who were induced to come here in expectation of permanent high wages complained loudly of this reduction, and I believe, deputations of them waited from time to time on the Governor, to express their disappointment to his Excellency at finding things take such a sudden turn against them. Having confidence in Mr. M'Kay, the people in the quarter of Couva applied to him for information as to the state of the home sugar market, and the correctness of the assertions they had from the planters. He told them that sugar will always be in demand, that the English people cannot get enough of it, and that so far from prices being reduced, they were as high, if not higher, than usual. He told them, that he thought it would be quite time enough for the planters to reduce the wages, when they suffered from low prices themselves; and that, even then, the reduction experienced by the labourers should only be in proportion to the diminution of their own revenue from sugar cultivation.

At first, Mr. M'Kay's plan for communicating generally amongst the labourers of the island such information as he considered they required in order to stir them up to form societies similar to that formed at Couva, was to have his views put in print, and circulated in the several estates and throughout the island. He prepared his matter for the press, and handed it, with *pre-payment*, to the proprietor of the *Trinidad Standard*; but this gentleman, fearing the displeasure of the plantocracy, I presume, refused to put it in type. Mr. M'Kay then resolved to visit in person, the cultivated parts of the island, for the purpose of submitting his plan to the people. At the town of San Fernando he commenced, but was assailed by the planters and their party in the most fearful manner. He put up at the Naparima Hotel, kept by a man of colour named Phillip; but, shortly after his entrance, his opponents assembled in a body, and demanded of the proprietor of the Hotel that he be put out immediately. This demand was nobly refused, on the ground that the house he kept was open to the public who favoured him with their patronage, and that he could not yield to such an unjust and cruel request as the one made. The cry was again raised, "Throw him over the jetty into the Gulf, and break his neck, and let him find his way home how he can." This was accompanied by a threat, that, if Mr. Phillip did not obey their dictum, he should lose their support. He told them, they could act as they pleased, and he would do the same; but, to turn any man out of his house under such circumstances, he would not. When they found they could not browbeat Mr. Phillip into obedience, they fell upon another plan. They bribed a black man into their service. This person presented himself to Mr. Phillip, saying, "The white people wanted to ill-treat this strange gentleman; but, if he would just come out, his colour would defend him, and let them see what they, the black people, could do for him." He was told to go about his business, that the man was as secure as he wished to be. The planters have put their threat into execution. They seem determined to crush poor Phillip. This poor man and his wife are amongst the most industrious, well-behaved, and persevering people we have in this island. Their house used to be the regular resort of the planters. His boats used to wait on our little steamer, and Mr. Phillip was always sure of his share of the passengers to and from San Fernando. The offence of giving accommodation to a traveller who was obnoxious to the planters, was the only one with which he was ever charged by them. He was a man that really took no side, but maintained a quiet and neutral part on all exciting questions. But the first offence is an unpardonable one. His boats go nearly empty to and from the steamer, and his house is almost deserted. His son, whom he has educated in Scotland as an engineer, has just returned to his father from Europe, and he is to have no patronage afforded him, but is to bear the consequences of his father's transgression. Even the reverend Church minister of Savanna Grande, has felt it to be part of his sacred calling to lend his weight in crushing poor Phillip.

In the midst of it all, poor Phillip bears up and declares if Mr. M'Kay should come the same way again he will be happy to receive him, should he favour him with a call. But, to return to Mr. M'Kay. He left San Fernando, for the interior of the island, or rather, the most distant estates; but he was obliged to hire or procure a guard of coloured persons, for his protection. When he got within the geographical boundaries by which the Protestant minister of Savanna Grande is circumscribed in his duties, he soon found that active and zealous parson at his heels, to prevent him, (Mr. M'Kay,) as he said, from imposing upon "his people." Where Mr. M'Kay went, there he went; where he met the people, there was he; and where he rested for the night, there the parson felt called to bivouac, in defence of the planters, though under the pretence of guarding the minds of "his people." At length, Mr. M'Kay relieved him from the necessity of following him further, by taking another direction.

At the head of the river Guanaca (Whanaca,) Mr. M'Kay fell in with some of the labouring people, who were desirous of hearing him. One black man, named Townsend, received him into his house, and afforded him what accommodation he could afford. He had not been long there, however, when a company of managers and overseers, numbering seven, who had been in pursuit of him, came up with him there. They rode up to the door, and in the most gross manner inquired if that fellow, M'Kay, were there? Mr. Townsend replied, that he was. He was requested to tell him to come out, as some gentlemen wished to see him. Mr. M'Kay sent out word, that if any person wanted him, he must walk in. The seven men dismounted, one of them held the horses, and six of them entered the house, and commenced abusing him in the most shameful manner. The language used by them could not appear in print, nor, indeed, could it be repeated, except by parties as vile as themselves. They did their utmost to provoke Mr. M'Kay to fight, but he told them that was not his object in visiting the quarter. They then rushed upon him in the most savage manner, and, as he took refuge in the bed-chamber, tore his shirt almost off his back, and did not leave the house until the owner of it interfered in a determined manner. They said M'Kay was their colour, and they had a right to do with him as they pleased, and urged him to give him up to them; but he said if he did they would murder him; and he then insisted that they should leave his house. Were it not for this man's wife they would have succeeded in getting into the chamber, and the consequences would, I am sure, be awful to relate. When Mr. M'Kay came to leave the place next day, his host gave him his horse to ride, and a lad to accompany him. As they went, two planters followed them on horseback, and begged the lad to fall back, and they "would ride with the gentleman." This the lad understood quite as well as themselves, and therefore he kept close to the hunted party. Mr. M'Kay reached town, and has since left for Barbadoes, to have the history of this infamous affair printed.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—Extract of a letter from James C. Pennington, to Joseph Sturge, dated,—"Hartford, Connecticut, Sept. 4, 1844.—We have had more serious and disgraceful riots at Philadelphia. I was present in that city during the riot which prevailed there in May last. I assure you it was one of the most melancholy scenes I ever witnessed in my life. As I looked through those straight, and once peaceful and cleanly streets, to see

fragments of furniture, china, &c., and men, women, and little children flying for fear of violence to their persons, was painful. On the night I left Philadelphia, at 12 o'clock, for Harrisburg, I rode out of the city in the cars by the light of St. Michael's (Catholic) church, as it was burning to ashes. I heard the bell fall. It is said that George Hackington gave 50 dollars towards the erection of that edifice. One fact came to my knowledge while I was looking on the state of things just described, which I regard as highly creditable to the coloured people, but which I have not mentioned here to avoid exciting jealousy. I will commit it to you as I know it will interest you. It will be remembered that the late riot occurred just about twenty-two months after the coloured people had been moved. In that riot there was a coloured man, Peter Lewis, so obnoxious to the rioters that the police took him to the Mayor's office for safety. As he was being carried along he was so brutally and severely pelted by the Irish with clubs and brickbats that he fell, and was taken up for dead, and as such was actually thrown into one of the cells used as a dead house, where he lay one night. But providentially he recovered. Now in the late riot the condition of the Irish was precisely like that of the coloured people, with this exception, that while they were flying before the 'natives' the coloured did not interfere, but rather rendered them the offices of humanity. One day, as I was looking out from the window of my hotel, I observed on the opposite side of the street a coloured man with a fine horse and wagon, who was in and out the yard every hour or two. Such was the vigorous and industrious cast of his actions and movements that I was led to ask who he was, and what was his business—when mine host said to me, 'That is Peter Lewis, the same man who was beaten and left for dead in the last outbreak against the coloured people; that is his own property where he lives; that horse and wagon is his own. He keeps a stove store; but to-day he is engaged with his wagon in moving the Irish families from Kensington, where they are moved to places of retreat and safety.' This is a fact which I proved to be true. Let it be remembered that Peter Lewis in a similar riot twenty-two months prior was the marked object of Irish vengeance. They first attacked his house, where he was living in peace. Let it also be borne in mind that the coloured people generally were the objects of vengeance. In some cases, when they had made their escape from the Americans, they were pursued by the Irish into the fields and woods for sport. In the late riot the Irish had to hide themselves in stables, and flee to the fields, &c., just as the coloured people had had to do before them. But did the coloured people join the 'natives' against them, cut off their flight, or aggravate them in any way? No, verily!—and proud am I to say it. I do not believe that either party has the least complaint to allege against them. But, dear friend, I cannot conceal from you the fact, that I feel deeply pained for the reputation of Philadelphia, as it will affect that of the Friends. The inquiry is now strongly agitated, (and I cannot help sharing in it), why is it that Philadelphia acts so? Is it the acting out her real character? Who has formed its character? So far as the Friends have formed that character, (and that is to a great extent,) is the mob spirit the legitimate offspring of the principles of Penn, Fox, and Benezet? Or does the secret lie in a criminal deterioration of their principles? The latter is my view of the subject.—About fifteen years ago, when twenty years of age, I made my escape from a slaveholder in one of the Southern States, where I left a father and mother, and eleven brothers and sisters; since that time I have never seen one of their faces. Until a short time since I had never made this known to any one in New York or Connecticut, where I have mostly lived; but lately I deemed it my duty to bring out the truth. Much excitement prevails at present, and I do not know what I may come to. My claimant is living, and has a large family of children. I am liable any moment to be arrested, and shall be for years, if I should live. I may be driven to take shelter in Canada or the West Indies. At the time I was making arrangements to come to England a little incident occurred, which I will relate. I was in the office of the Secretary of State for Connecticut, where the laws of all the slave States are to be found. Looking over some of these laws my eye rested on an act of the State from which I fled, authorizing a slaveholder to bring two aged slaves, with their children, from the adjoining State, on condition that he should pay so much a head into the treasury of the Colonization Society. The name of the slaveholder was given, and the names of the slaves, and in these names I recognized my claimant, and my dear aged father and mother. And this was the first and only intelligence I have had of them since the time I left them—fifteen long years ago! This is the way, dear friend, that things are done in Christian America. This is the way that hundreds of pious parents and children are being severed apart, hopeless of ever being permitted in this life to exchange those parental and filial duties which constitute the sweets of the family relation. What a thought is this for me to dwell upon, that, although I have a father, mother, and brothers and sisters, yet I have no means of knowing when any of these sicken and die. I know not when to record the death of one of them. I may hear of friends in other countries—in your country—I may hear when they die—but of my father and my mother, in my own country, I know not when they die! I feel certain of one thing—I can never again be a slave. And, so long as I am unmolested, I do not feel it right to desert the cause of my slave brethren. My parents are now old, and the chains of slavery must be very galling to them. No one can think it strange that I feel very ardently on the subject of slavery. I have been robbed of my parents, friends, and time. Let me tell any person who has common humanity, that I was held in slavery till I was twenty years of age, and then was compelled to flee, and leave my father, mother, brothers and sisters in bondage—that I have not only had to struggle against common prejudices, but I have had this bosom difficulty to contend with, and he will see at once that the last few years have been to me years of great moment. I conclude by saying, that I do not know what may befall me. I am liable to be seized, legally, in any part in America. If any important change should occur I will endeavour to keep you apprised of it. I have just received a letter from our friend, Thomas Clarkson, which has refreshed me very much.

Extract of a letter from Lewis Tappan, Esq., to Mr. Scoble, dated New York, November 9, 1844.—I received yours of Oct. 11th, and immediately forwarded to Mr. Torrey the official letter to him. He has received it. A correspondent of the *Boston Chronicle*, who visited Mr. Torrey in prison, writes, "He had just received a letter signed by Thomas Clarkson and John Scoble, on behalf of the British and

Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, that cheered his drooping spirits. It was affecting to see him reading that letter, clad in his night-clothes, with a prisoner's towel tied around his breast, as he stood where the light of an American October sun streamed faintly through his iron grates. O, Slavery! when shall thy tyrant dominion have an end? Mr. Torrey's attempt to break gaol is considered a most unfortunate affair. It will prevent his procuring bail. The trial is set down for the February term of the Court. He will be ably defended. The letter for Capt. Walker was sent to Florida, by a legal gentleman who has proceeded thither to defend him in the Courts. The Boston committee advanced 750 dollars, which I handed over to this attorney, who has strong expectations of obtaining Capt. Walker's release or acquittal. Though a southern lawyer, he will argue the unconstitutionality of slavery in a territory of the United States. Walker was also piratically seized on the high seas, and by persons acting without legal authority. The letters for the excellent young men in the Missouri Penitentiary will be forwarded the first opportunity. I doubt not that they, as well as the other men who are suffering for righteousness' sake, will be cheered by that manifestation of sympathy on the part of the venerable Clarkson and the Committee of your Society.

The Presidential contest is over, and it is supposed that James K. Polk, of Tennessee, is elected President of the United States for four years from March 4, 1845. He is 49 years of age, and has been Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Governor of Tennessee. He is a man of fair talents and character. He is, as well as his competitor, Mr. Clay, a slaveholder. The contest has been conducted very acrimoniously. Knowing that the Liberty party was strongly united in Mr. Birney, and fearing that the withdrawal of many Whigs from the support of Mr. Clay would endanger his election, the Whig party bore down very hardly upon Mr. Birney in hopes of ruining his reputation, and inducing the Liberal party men to withhold their votes from him. To this end, a letter, purporting to be written by him, with an accompanying affidavit, was published far and near, in which Mr. Birney was made to declare that he was secretly acting for Polk. This nefarious artifice did turn many from Mr. Birney, but his true-hearted friends were inspired with more determination in consequence of this base forgery. The Liberty party vote is greater than ever, and the Whigs impute to this party the defeat of their candidate. The probability is that the Whig party will be broken up, and be merged in a new party called the American Republican party, which has been formed to withstand the influence of foreigners, who are supposed unduly to influence our elections. This party expect to have the naturalization laws amended, so that much longer residence shall be required of foreigners before they are permitted to vote. The time is now five years, and efforts will be made to extend it to twenty-one years.

Mr. Clarkson's letter "To the Christian and well-disposed Citizens of the Northern States of America, has been extensively published in this country. The writings of such a man have power, are circulated, and do immense good. There was never more zeal and liberality among the abolitionists of this country than at the present time. A wonderful impulse has been given to the cause within a few months. We look upon the present moment as highly auspicious to a dissemination of anti-slavery principles. We hope and pray that He who ruleth among the nations will give great efficacy to these principles, and great success to our labours.

You will naturally desire to know what effect the election of Mr. Polk will have upon the cause of freedom in this country. He is in favour of the annexation of Texas; many of the most influential men in the Democratic party are so also; and attempts will doubtless be made and persisted in to accomplish this object. But the Senate will be Whig. The new President of Texas is said to be opposed to annexation. Many of the Democratic party in the United States are opposed to it: a strong opposition will be made from other quarters. We, therefore, in view of these facts, and of the great fact, THE LORD GOD OMNIPOTENT REIGNETH; feel a calm belief that Texas will not be annexed to this country, that anti-slavery principles will prevail, and that we shall yet be a FREE and happy and respected nation.

HAYTI.—Extract of a letter to G. W. Alexander, Esq., dated—"Port Republican, Oct. 22, 1844.—My dear sir,—I have the greatest pleasure in acknowledging your kind letter accompanying the address from the Anti-Slavery Society to the Government and people of Hayti. It cannot for a moment be doubted but that an address so judicious and well timed will have a good influence upon the Haytian Republic. Immediately on receiving them I placed them where I thought they would be most likely to get into the press, and by that means into general circulation. One I sent to each of the two editors in the capital, and also to two of the secretaries of state. From several of the citizens I have received the greatest proof that the address is well received, and highly appreciated. But the best proof I can give you of the manner in which the attentions of the Anti-Slavery Society are received is the copy of a letter from one of the secretaries of state, in acknowledgment of the receipt of the addresses from the Anti-Slavery and Peace Societies, of which I send you a translation.

'Sir,—I have received the two addresses, and the letter with which you honoured me. The Government of the Republic appreciate, as will also the whole nation,—which indeed it ought to do—the generous interest taken by the Anti-Slavery and Peace Societies in our prosperity. The wise counsels which they give in the hope of our peace and tranquillity will, I hope, not be without effect. Present, I beseech you, sir, the warmest thanks of the country to those pious and charitable men who have manifested so marked a solicitude for our welfare.

(Signed) 'H. FERY.'

I am greatly in hopes that the address will be translated and printed without any expense to the Society; but, if I should be disappointed in my hope, I will avail myself of the sum spoken of in your last letter, and get the address into full circulation throughout the Republic. This is indeed the time for the friends of Hayti to exert the salutary influence of wise counsels and friendly sympathy with this afflicted nation; the more so as, in the midst of all the strife and unhappiness which has existed, there are so many interesting traits: one—which is not the least—is, that so many prim-

ary schools have lately crept into existence. Our own school in the capital is aided by the present Government by a monthly subscription, and has an encouraging general attendance. With regard to the general prospects of the country, all is calm at present, and I confess I incline to hope for the best. There are but two papers published in the French part of the island, *La Feuille du Commerce*, and *Le Manifeste*; both very liberal both in politics and religion. There are no other periodicals published in the Republic.

SPAIN.—The slave-trade question has been for some time a subject which has led to communications of a serious nature between the British and Spanish governments. Mr. Bulwer has been actively engaged in the endeavour to induce the government here to fulfil its treaties, by carrying into execution the penal law, which it bound itself long since to establish; but hitherto, I fear, without much effect. The Spanish government has, however, given Mr. Bulmer promises that a law shall be introduced on the subject without delay, and if honest, nothing can be easier than to ask for a vote of confidence to carry out such a measure as that required by the treaty of 1835. It remains to be seen whether the government here is disposed to act honestly on this subject or not, and that question must soon be determined, our Government considering it of vital importance to get the matter arranged before our Parliament meets. If what I hear be true, the influence of the French government is used to obstruct and thwart British policy on this question, and the Spanish ministry is strengthened in its temporising and procrastinating policy by the aid of M. Bresson's good offices and counsels. General Narvaez could doubtless throw considerable light on this part of the subject, if he chose to do so.—*Correspondent of the Morning Chronicle*.

DENMARK.—We learn with pleasure that an Anti-Slavery Committee has been formed in the city of Copenhagen. On the 31st of October this body presented to the provincial states a petition, asking for the emancipation of the slaves in the Danish West India colonies at the earliest possible period. The petition was not resisted by the commission (the organ of government.) It was received by the assembly, and referred unanimously to a Committee, which will hereafter make its report.

LITHUANIA.—For some time the peasantry in Lithuania have been much excited against the nobility. They want the abolition of slavery (serfdom.) Letters from Bremen announce that this disaffection had caused in several provinces a serious outbreak.—*Morning Chronicle*.

Miscellanea.

SUSPECTED SLAVER.—Some worthy citizens of the United States have discovered a very pretty quarrel with England. We have only the American version of the tale. The commander of an English war-brig on the Brazilian coast boarded a brig belonging to New Orleans, suspecting it to be a slaver; and as there were some informalities in the British officer's mode of presenting himself, such as his not being in uniform, Mr. Dumas, the master of the American brig, thought it a safe and perhaps a profitable game to resist. His plan seems to have been to manufacture as many separate outrages as possible out of the single opportunity. He blocked up the intruder's way with an American flag in such a manner that the national ensign was "trampled under foot" in the struggle. Kroo sailors accompanied the British officer, and the Yankee makes a telling point of this encounter with the "Negroes." He abandoned his vessel, too, which is a very effective stroke. There was one thing, indeed, that he would not give up—his log-book; and as he makes out that the Englishman exhibited a cowardly fear even at the show of determined resistance, one is surprised that the American did not gain every point *vi et armis*. This singular tenacity of the log-book and laxity in holding the ship itself look suspicious. If the vessel had really been engaged as a slaver, and if the owner were likely to make more in the shape of damages than the true value of his brig, this would be the very course that you would suspect the master to take; but in any other case the 'cute Yankee must have behaved foolishly. On the other hand, if there is any degree of truth in his story, it would seem that the British commander suffered himself to be betrayed by the vulgar bullying cant, which the letter itself amply displays, into an indiscreet assertion of unauthenticated power. It is very awkward; and although we have no fear of Mr. Dumas's being able to make good his threat that "England will pay dearly for this," the occurrence, unless the whole tale is a hoax, may cause some trouble. It is one of the many ugly mementos of the absurd and impracticable nature of all our slave-trade-suppression treaties, which do not suppress slave-trade, and do provoke risks of international war.—*Spectator*.

CAPTAIN DENMAN AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.—In the Court of Exchequer, on the 20th inst., Sir Thomas Wilde was heard on the part of the Honourable Captain Denman, defendant in an action brought by Buron, a Spanish merchant, whose warehouse, on the coast of Africa, Captain Denman had destroyed, besides liberating a number of slaves, the property of Buron. Sir Thomas Wilde contended, that Captain Denman had acted in accordance with the laws both of Spain and England, for the suppression of the slave-trade, and had merely obeyed instructions for which, not he but his Government was responsible: if wrong had been done, the Government of Spain should claim compensation from that of England. Some laughter was created; by Baron Alderson asking, if it was contended by the plaintiff, that the Ameers of Scinde might bring an action against Lord Ellenborough for false imprisonment? Mr. Kelly saw no reason why they should not. Baron Alderson—"Perhaps Sir Charles Napier and Lord Ellenborough might be jointly sued." The Court declared its intention of taking time to consider its judgment.

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